FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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AMERICA'S FLAG.

Hurrah for the rights we have had and have not!
Hurrah for the heroes thro' whom they were got!
Hurrah for their ashes that helped to cement
An over-ruled people without their consent!
Hurrah, boys, hurrah! Pray, what else may we brag?
Why the glorious, resplendent American Flag!

Hurrah for the mill slaves compelled to compete
With the lightning's mad bolts as before them they beat!
Hurrah for the stomachs half empty and faint
Which perish contented, nor strike 'gainst restraint,
But cling with affectionate tears despite "gag"
To our glorious, resplendent American Flag!

Hurrah for the thousands entombed in our mines,
With death ever fighting, while hope seldom shines,
And hurrah for the cheerless ones gathered at home,
When the mother 'mid sobs whispers—"Father wont come!"
Then hurrah for the baron in mellow punch "jag,"
Who seeks night's repose in America's Flag!

Hurrah for the millions of promising lives,
Shut up for scant wage in our mercantile hives,
With honor imperiled, which soon must succumb,
Selecting its place in the dive or the tomb,
Or live on in shame 'till time wrinkle the hag,
And adds one more star to America's Flag!

Ah, yes; we have stars set in mock-Heaven blue
And we're stripes neatly traced to enliven them, too;
And we're told equal rights by each stripe and each star
To the nation—the people—inserted and upheld are,
While the millions whose lives still thro' poverty drag,
Look up with delight at America's Flag.

—Edward O'Donnell.

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LABOR VS. POLITICS.

What has politics done for the labor movement?

This question is asked in all seriousness by thinking men; and emanating from such mature sources the response demands well poised consideration, tempered with that degree of fairness, which the gravity of the query and the great issue involved is entitled to.

The treatment of this proposition, first of all, compels one important concession, namely: that the labor question is simply and purely one of economics. Any other environment flung around it is erroneous.

Setting out therefore, from this premise, adjustment is wholly impossible upon political lines. If legislative effort has any pretense at all to consistency, and if its zeal be founded upon justice, which must be generally mutual, then the adjustment of the labor question by statute is impractical. You cannot by any stretch of logic or reason unloosen the wheel of the chariot of progress by binding one other, and expect to reach a desired goal.

In making this claim I am of course not blind to the fact that the labor side of the axle has been, and is today, and always will be corroded, so long as polit and industrial economics are forcibly match .

Emancipation must not be hoped for by tying down one hand and releasing the other, and this is precisely what political dabbling is alternately accomplishing in every detail.

Right here we are unconsciously brought face to face, as it were, with the true magnitude of the great question agitating busy minds—"What has politics done for the labor movement?"

There is only one reply admissible: Nothing!

Of course the advocates of political action will laugh, and say: Nonsense! But it requires more than a rebuff to establish a contrary claim.

The legal protection afforded stock gambling, which stands as a watch-dog before the gateway of industrial economics, more than offsets labor legislation.

I will not deny that many of the bills framed into "law" through the instrumentality of the labor organization have given a modicum of satisfaction in some direction to the manifest dissatisfaction of other features of the economic movement.

Legislation that will not release every limb of the labor problem only fastens tighter the shackles, and diverts the evolutionary process from its legitimate trend.

The politician is merely playing possum with the labor "reformers," and in very many instances the labor reformers are playing possum with the politician.

There is not one solitary enactment spread upon the public statutes for the assumed benefit of labor that will remain intact when passed through the legal sieve.

When "constitutionally" tested, as they sometimes are, when occasion requires it, they fall to pieces, and "constitutional" agitation is confronted with the ghost of its inadequacy and futility in its attempts to solve the problem upon political lines.

Politics and labor make very poor housekeepers, and, in the light of experience they should not be forced into unfraternal partnership.

The passing odor of politics contaminates the labor movement, since the principal involved savors not of politics, and the purest motives and best intentions which fail to perceive the danger line, are oftentimes impugned. For this reason alone, if none other were presentable, the solution of the labor question should be continued solely upon economic grounds.

Corruption has sapped the economics out of the body politic in every land, with perhaps the single exception of Switzerland, and even here it is fast developing into an article of commerce. Political economy, as a science, is like justice; you hear a great deal about it but never see it; it is a "Will o' the Wisp," flung out to mislead the unwary.

Far from labor being indebted to politics the latter has been its curse; its very rottenness is contagious, and the moment labor reformers come in contact with it they are smirched in spite of themselves.

Every attempt to adjust labor grievances by law invites hostile legislation and swells the treasury of the lobby.

The conspiracy and injunction laws more than counterbalance all your labor legislation, which of themselves are oppressive upon the very interests they aim to ameliorate.

Political tinkering with the industrial economic problem only retards its progress, and stimulates the vicious side of human selfishness, too weak to resist the temporary inducements alluring the labor movement into destructive channels.

The eagerness with which labor leaders throttle one another when they take political issue, even with labor the presumed object of benefaction, is sufficiently suggestive of evil doing on either or both sides, and right here, if nowhere else, labor suffers most criminal injustice. Unfortunately for the cobweb politicians in the labor organizations, ignorance of the true status of the movement cannot be placed to their credit in every instance. Many of them are criminally censurable because they are fully conscious of the depth and magnitude of their offence. True, transgression oftentimes finds itself on the gridiron, but the labor movement is the greater sufferer in the process of incineration.

In as much as the labor question is one of economics, I deny point blank that its solution comes within the scope of politics, and every statutory attempt to fathom it only misleads and tempts it from its legitimate course.

A third of the time devoted to the study of the economic side of the problem within the labor organizations, now given its erroneous political phase, would be more healthy and profitable to the principles of freedom.—Edward O'Donnell.

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WILL THEY EVER LEARN?

Trades union methods have been displayed in the Coeur d' Alene. A fight against the "scabs," i. e., an attempt to prevent any one from working except members of the union culminated in the blowing up of a mill that had cost many days of hard work by these same unionists. Oh, how brave they were! Two thousand of them put a small squad of "scabs" to flight, and yelled: Cowards! after them. But what did they do when the United States deputy marshals put in an appearance? Who were the cowards then? Instead of carrying on the war they had commenced, instead of standing by the challenge they had slung out, they allowed themselves to be driven, like sheep, into filthy pens. They allowed negro soldiers to insult and assault their wives and daughters. They allowed the "scab" deputies, as they call them, to overrun the towns, pillage houses, scare women and children and kick and cuff them around like so many dogs.

This is the kind of heroes we find moulded in the trade union mould. The unionist hates the scab—a fellow worker—but, oh! now he worships the flag! Any enormity can be committed in its name and he bows in resignation, even though it may be in the deepest and most bitter sorrow!

When, oh, when will such sycophantish, cringing cowardice come to an end!

It seems that the miners love to be bossed, love slavery. With the Wardner episode and its consequences in their eyes, in fact with this sickening transaction going on, the miners' union convention at Salt Lake City endorsed the S. L. P.

It seems they are unable to learn the lesson, though its tuition comes high, that government is conspiracy and murder, and that they had as good a right to take possession of the mill at Wardner as to blow it up. It seems they don't understand that if the government owned and operated everything they would be more powerless, more servile and more completely under the thumb of the bosses.

The work of the military officials in destroying the union is tyrannous in the extreme, but perhaps it will eventually result in showing the sickly fawners before public authority that governments are not created and maintained for them, but rather for their enemies. Henry Addis.

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LUCCHENI'S PUNISHMENT.

A friend, intimate with the prison system of Switzerland, was telling me the other day of the fearful torture that the sentence of perpetual seclusion passed on Luccheni, the assassin of the Empress of Austria, involves. For the first six months he will be in a dungeon eight feet under ground, where never a sound is heard, and only the faintest streak of light is admitted. He dare not speak to his jailers, and the punishment is severe if he makes the slightest remark, unless it is in reply to a question. When his spirit is broken by this treatment he is removed to a better-situated cell, but the same silence prevails. To the end of his days the exercise of the powers of speech and hearing are denied him. As a rule the prisoners go raving mad.—*Boston Post.*

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal: absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The publication of the book "The Chicago Martyrs" has caused us considerable expense, more than we can afford to defray at present, and yet we are again engaged in the publication of another book—"Moribund Society and Anarchy,"—hoping that the comrades will assist us in spreading our ideas.

We do not plead for donations, but cordially request the readers in arrears to pay their subscriptions. Look on the wrapper of your paper and see if you are behind. This is No. 219, and if the number on the wrapper is lower your subscription has expired.

Groups and individuals may help us greatly by ordering books and pamphlets,—the latter for distribution.

The "History of the Commune" is a book which every reader of *Free Society* ought to have in his library.

In order to enable comrades to circulate "The Chicago Martyrs" we will mail 5 copies for 85 cents or 10 for $1.50.

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The dailies of Seattle and Tacoma, Wash., seem to be disappointed that Comrade Emma Goldman does not look like a "wild beast," but rather like "a Boston teacher of ethics," and that "Anarchy means something else besides bomb-throwing." In fact, the comments are very fair and tolerant and if her tour does not make Anarchists by the hundreds, as many comrades would have it, we can be well satisfied that she awakens many indifferent minds and removes the prevailing prejudices against Anarchism and Anarchists.

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A correspondent of the *Penny Magazine*, Crescent, Minn., who arrived in Shanghai, China, writes a condensed history of the American transgression in the Philippines, and every reader of *Free Society* ought to send a two cent stamp for the May number. He asserts that the Americans slaughtered more defenseless people—women and children—in the battle at Manila in that one day and night than Spain did in two centuries. Such is the freedom the Americans secured for the Filipinos!

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In 1896 a bomb was thrown into a religious procession in Spain and 400 men were arrested, many of whom were tortured in a most horrible manner. Five of them were shot, twenty imprisoned and hundreds exiled. It is now discovered that the man who threw the bomb was a Frenchman—Girau—who came to this country where he died recently, and that all those men whose flesh was torn from their bodies, whose nails from their fingers, and other parts of whose bodies were mutilated most cruelly, were innocent. The Anarchists made great efforts to arouse public opinion against the barbarities which surpassed those of the Middle Ages, but the daily press paid little or no attention to the disclosures of the Anarchists. The movement for a new trial, however, has finally taken such dimensions all over Spain that the government is forced to take the matter up. The corpses of those executed and those who died at the hands of their tormentors have been exhumed and the marks of torture and mutilation confirmed. A revision of the trial has been commenced and the government promises that the guilty officials shall be punished. "We have no confidence in these promises," says an exchange, "but the unmasking of modern justice is of more importance than the phraseology of a governor."

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From Italy comes the delightful news that Comrade Malatesto has escaped from prison and is expected in London by this time. About a year ago he was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for being editor of an Anarchist paper. Two other comrades were lately imprisoned for the same reason. Governments never learn that they promote a cause by persecution.

A. I.

DEMOCRACY A LIE.

Recently Prof. Herron spoke in Chicago on "The Democracy of Power," and in criticising religious and political dogmatism, said among other things:

"The same thing is true in politics and political revolutions. The real struggle for political liberty is a fight for distribution of power. It is a protest which must last as long as the Deity lasts against any man being subject to another man. There can by no possibility ever exist a stable order in the world when that order subjects men in any form whatsoever to each other. There never lived a man who had the right to rule another man. There never lived a man who could be trusted to rule another man. There never lived a man into whose hands the welfare, religious or economic, of any other man could be committed. This distribution of power is the meaning of all historic struggle. It lies at the root of spiritual aspiration, of what we call revolt.

"Any sort of power which subjects the mind or the interests, the economic or political well-being of one to another, always destroys those who are ruled over. No man was ever ruled or ever felt himself obliged to adjust his thinking and his working to some other man or some class of men without having every citadel of his soul attacked. On the other hand, no man ever ruled another man or used him to do good, even in the kingdom of God, without striking at his own soul and committing spiritual murder. Thus wherever any class has power over another class that class itself becomes enslaved. A ruling class first destroys the power of the unprivileged class for self-government and then in turn becomes self-enslaved. Nero had power, yet he lived in constant fear for its stability. So is the modern plutocrat afraid to have a word spoken; so afraid that the existing order of things will be destroyd that he subsidizes newspapers, writes the editorials and even the dispatches from country towns; so afraid of what shall be spoken that he buys up the colleges by giving them rich endowments; so afraid that he controls the organization of churches. And what are these men afraid of? They are afraid to have free men speak the truth that is in them.

"Any system that rests upon special privileges, that has a privileged class, is a system that has in it all the elements of corruption and destruction. A privileged or a ruled class is the seed that has been the destruction of every civilization. Special privileges have been the poison which has killed every civilization that has come into the world, and they are the poisons that are eating out the virility and manhood of the civilization.

"Any sort of a system, political or religious, which places men under the rule of other men, is elementally immoral. Where, then, must it reside in this day? There was a time when power resided in the throne, when it was vested in the sovereigns, but today it is not the divine right of kings; it is the divine right of privately owned public property that we have to deal with. In modern civilization property is concrete power. All legislation, all power centralizes power. The kings are gone. People are no longer afraid of creeds, but property, which De Tocqueville long ago said would give to America the worst despotism it ever knew, today brings us face to face again with the old problem of absolutism, for the monopolist of 1899 is simply Cæsar come down through state and church to land finally upon his solidest basis upon the face of God's earth, which belongs to the people. Unless we have democracy in natural resources there can never be religious or political democracy.

"I would say a word anent the modern 'moral crusade' extant in such cities as Chicago and New York. Crusades against those who are already helpless victims of the existing order are simply ghastly in their immorality and damnable in their moral ignorance. If preachers would crusade against gambling let them commence with the gamblers in their own pews, and not with the souls that are the inevitable grist of latter-day civilization's mills. I agree with the protest against gambling, but let these crusaders look into their own pews some Sunday morning to discover, let us say, an imaginary gambler—one who had waxed rich through franchises or one who through real-estate gambling, which is the most vicious of all gambling, had invested funds to raise nothing upon his land except the devil. Think of how the people had toiled and created his land values for him and how he had endowed pretty nearly every college in the west with the profits the people earned, and had been enshrined as a patron saint in that church or in this doctrine of divinity! I would say this gambler had debauched every educational institution, the whole religious denomination, the manhood of every teacher and preacher and every thought in this western civilization. If we are to attack civic evils, then, attack them at the root. Begin to attack gambling where gambling begins."

In spite of Prof. Herron's conclusion that "there never lived a man who had the right to rule another man" he advocates "democracy in natural resources," the greatest political lie that ever penetrated the human mind. Democracy in natural resources can mean nothing else but that the "government of the people" is entrusted with the management of production and distribution of wealth. That such government would be much more powerful than that of our own time is evident, for those who control the wealth of a nation control the individual. That Prof. Herron would not be permitted to propagate advanced ideas in a democratic college, if such ideas were in opposition to those in power, is also self-evident, and there would be no escape for him except unconditional surrender.

History teaches us that the birth of a new society is painful because of the clash between old and new ideas, and as the mass of humanity is ever opposed to innovations, it is again self-evident that the greater the power of the people the harder it will be to improve the conditions of any nation that collectively controls production and distribution.

The present dissension in the Ruskin Colony furnishes a charming example of the democracy of the commonwealth. The fight did not originate on account of destitution, but from the beginning there has been a battle between old and new ideas. And here let me say to those comrades who ever assert that the solution of the economical question will also solve the social problem without discussion of religious and sexual subjects, that they are sadly mistaken. Geo. McDonald says very truly in *The Truth Seeker*: "The economic or industrial problem is a big one, but I believe that the directors of Ruskin Colony will admit that they have found it easy of solution as compared with those problems which Socialists agree to ignore." DOMINICO.

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SOME HINTS.

Tolstoi misses one point, I think, in sizing up the disarmament scheme of the despots. He thinks that they cannot and do not intend to reduce their fighting strength; but their aim is to form a trust of all the great powers for mutual protection against their own people whom they all fear. The new extradition treaties and anti-Anarchist laws being enacted point in that direction. It is glorious to have such a man as Tolstoi on deck watching their moves, for every point needs watching.

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As to C. L. James and my friend and neighbor Shaw and the others that seem to be unable to get along without souls and gods and "great first causes," etc., I feel sorry for their condition; I wish they could do without such bandages. If C. L. James had given us the last one of his seven commandments first he might have spared us the infliction of the other six, for if God is the mover of all original thought, of course, as he says, evolution is nothing. One fact well digested ought to cure them: *Matter existed before mind.* E. R. NICOLES.

West Saticoy, Cal.

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PAPER MONEY OR BLOOD-SHED?

"All propositions in regard to the medium of exchange must ever remain mere palliatives, for the cause of prevailing iniquities is not the quantity of wages nor this or that medium of exchange, but the wage system itfelf, consequently the remedy is not the reformation of wage slavery but its abolition."—A. I.

Granted that the abolition of wage slavery must be the aim of all true reformers; would it be best to accomplish it on the same lines as the black slave emancipators pursued, or by a course that would not involve blood-shedding? Blood—even the churches' stock in trade—"the blood of the lamb"—is a peculiar liquid in which to expect to cleanse anything.

Everyone who does business without legal tender, is, in some degree, saving himself from the prey of profit, and it is possible for a systematized plan of exchange, by means of paper, to entirely take the mo-

nopoly of exchange out of the hands of the government; it is the thin end of a wedge that could, without noise or commotion, upset all government.

Admitting that under freedom—free land and free exchange cutting out the land-lords and money-lords—we could supply all our needs by means of two hours' work per diem, no science, but love only, would be requisite to apportion or appraise values to any product or work; Anarchists would be the foremost in working—double time if necessary—to supply the wants of those unable to work. KINGHORN-JONES.

COMMENT.

I have not indicated in my previous comment that it would be best to abolish wage slavery through blood-shed. But I do say, that our conditions will ever remain as they are today unless the people be firmly determined to assert their rights and to pursue happiness, whether such pursuit be considered illegal or not, i. e., we must make every attempt to have our actions conform with our ideas. To establish paper currency, based on time value, would not be a step toward equality, but a negation of our own principles, to wit: free production and free consumption.

Of course, I am ever anxious to favor any means which tend to improve our relations, but how paper money could upset all government "without noise or commotion" is beyond my comprehension, as long as private property in the means of production and distribution is recognized—a recognition that secures government. On the other hand, governments are not so stupid as to have their power upset "without noise or commotion," but will try to suppress all efforts which tend to eliminate government monopoly.

How we can improve our condition under the present system of society is a difficult question, and I can see no way out except we co-operate and try to carry out our principles as far as possible, refusing to obey laws which we are convinced are detrimental to our well-being. Says J. Blair Smith: "Perhaps there is nothing grander in history than the action of Richard Cameron riding into Sanguhar at the head of twenty men, affixing a proclamation to the market cross denouncing Charles II. as a bloody tyrant, throwing off their allegiance and refusing to recognize his laws. A most illegal action! Twenty-one men defying the British Empire! And yet the freedom we possess today, civil and religious, such as it is, owes its existence to the determined, uncompromising, illegal action of these men." A. L.

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REPRESSION IS DISRUPTION.

Judging from some remarks made by O. A. Verity in No. 53 of *Discontent* in an excellent article ventilating and criticizing the hypocritical peacock-utterances of the *Co-operator* upon the sex question, the Ruskin tyrants had issued a ukase against the wearing of bloomers upon the colony grounds.

Such infamous action is unparalelled even in the dominions of the czar of all the Russias and, if the report be true, that colony certainly deserves the ignominious death toward which it is rapidly drifting.

The downfall of Ruskin Colony ought to be a lesson and a warning to all other embryo-enterprises of equal sex-blue-laws prochivities.

The writer of that article in the *Co-operator* ought to remember that the opportunities for hiding his "dual nature" and covering up his "practices on the sly" are much more cramped and the dangers of "detection" much greater in a small colony than in society at large, and for his own safety he ought to at least keep silent upon the subject if he does not possess courage enough to advocate perfect freedom outright. He is sadly mistaken in thinking that "the economic problem is the one of primary importance." The economic problem did not bother the black slave. He had plenty of food and raiment and a good shelter, and he was as a rule better cared for than thousands of white wage-slaves are today. But there was that element lacking which is the main requisite for the happiness of the individual—liberty of action. The economic question is but the *means to an end*; the end is LIBERTY. And among all the sentiments controlling and guiding people's actions, love is the predominating one. Love transforms a hovel into a palace and a hell into a heaven; and its absence or the repression of the sex-instinct transforms a palace into a hovel and a heaven into a hell; and surely—though the silly little manikins who plan most of co-operative schemes have not brains enough to realize it—it sweeps co-operative colonies before it, no matter how wise and safe their economic bases be. S. D.

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HERE AND THERE.

It is rather humiliating to know that Lois Waisbrooker was never a very great admirer of mine, for I have been, formerly, a very great admirer of Lois Waisbrooker. About twenty-five years ago. Lois Waisbrooker began publishing a sex-reform paper, called *Our Age*. The paroxysms of the Beecher-Tilton exposures were still agitating "sawciety;" and Lois proposed that we, who sympathized with Mrs. Woodhull in her purpose of uncovering the skeleton in the social closet, should help the good work along by a general unmasking. At that time I admired Lois Waisbrooker very much. Her suggestion appeared to me an excellent one; and she may remember that I was among the first who responded to it. Another, if I remember right, was the late J. H. Cook. A few years later Mrs. Waisbrooker had adopted a line of action which, if anticipated, would certainly have prevented any one from communicating unorthodox sex experiences to *Our Age*. She had started another paper, whose mission, so far as I could make out, was abusing variety. I was by no means able to agree with Lois Waisbrooker as to the merits of her new departure. Observation and experience had taught me that the kind of sexual life she was now attacking, always prevalent to a considerable extent in every social state, but covered in that which at present exists by the veil of hypocrisy which she had lately been exhorting us to lift, was sure to become conspicuous as soon as sexual freedom reached that point at which unmasking can be considered prudent. I could see no way of keeping it out of sight except by putting the veil of hypocrisy on again. And, as the necessary effect of abusing it is to put it out of sight, this appeared to me a clear joining of hands with Comstock. Observation and experience had also taught me that the varietists, whom Lois Waisbrooker was now calling prostitutes and various other disagreeable names, were actually the most temperate, constant, and discriminating in sexual matters of the human race—beyond all comparison more so than the affinity-seekers, who now appeared to be Mrs. Waisbrooker's principal allies. But what is more than all the rest, observation and experience had taught me that the varietists alone could be counted on to stand stanchly by sexual freedom wherever it might lead, and that advocates of sexual freedom who declined their fellowship were powerless against the organized might of sexual slavery. I wrote something to this purpose for Mrs. Waisbrooker's new paper. So did Cook. But I soon found, as, indeed, I had expected, that like all who have a weak cause, she was by no means willing to encourage free discussion. She speedily, to use her own expression, excused Cook from writing any more to her paper upon the subject. The reason alleged was that, in replying to the sanious abuse of varietists and variety with which the paper was filled, he quoted—who shall say unjustly, in view of what has just been stated?—an aphorism attributed to Jesus about the consequences of casting pearls before a quadruped frequently mentioned in scripture, but never held up as an example. I am told that Lois also said very much the same about me as about him—at all events she acted on it, though I had made no reference to the pachydermatous animal held in abhorrence by disciples of Moses and Mohammed. If anything were wanted to justify Cook in doing so, it was supplied by this, that the former confidences of the varietists to *Our Age*, were now used in Mrs. Waisbrooker's paper—need I add with considerable garbling?—for the purpose of showing what very naughty people varietists are. I cannot deny that this reminded me of a little incident which happened in Eau Claire about the same time. Two girls were ejected from a meeting held by the Salvation Army, for indulging in untimely merriment. The story was told against them in the papers, and they put forth, by way of defense, a little card, suggesting that it was scarcely fair to invite people where there was so much to make them laugh, and then kick them out for laughing. I thought it hardly the fair thing that Mrs. Waisbrooker should call on varietists—she could expect no one else to reply—for a statement of their sexual experiences, and then go to reviling them because those experiences were much like other people's. The use of a mask is to prevent being thought worse than one's neighbors, who habitually wear one. Is it not requiring too much to think any one will unmask before those too green to know, or too uncandid to admit, that the faces still concealed by masks are probably full as homely as his own? But though I could no longer admire Mrs. Waisbrooker's consistency, I had no difficulty in making allowance for her lack of it. "To err is human—to forgive divine." Mrs. Waisbrooker appeared to me an impulsive sort of a woman—seventy years young—and correspondingly innocent. I presumed likely she had seen a new affinity, and I know the effect of that delusive sight in upsetting the sexual temperance which consistent variety requires. I am glad she perceives, with me, that capitalism, like other unjust systems, embodies an inconsistency which will eventually prove incompatible with its further development. Perhaps she may yet live to see that dual sexual relations are what supply it with the surplus human flesh upon consumption of which it depends for nourishment.

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S. D. is mistaken if he infers from what I said in No. 190 of *Free Society*, that I am any believer in phrenology. I know, without consulting Emil Lies, that the generalizations of Gall were premature and untenable. S. D. had amused me by a volley in the style of the *Gatling Gun* against "modern shams and humbugs." He asserted that all of them—Spiritualism, hypnotism, and phrenology—were, as far as I remember his expressions, "tarred with the same brush of supernaturalism." The allusion to phrenology appeared to me a particularly random shot, because phrenology is not in the least tarred with the supernatural brush, despite Mr. Lies' remark about its prevalence in England and America, where Christianity also prevails. It is empirical, it is crude, it is undoubtedly full of errors, but it is entirely naturalistic in spirit. If S. D. is a materialist, as I suppose, he doubtless accepts its fundamental ideas—that mind is a function of the brain and that the faculties are localized in particular regions of the brain. And if so, he is much nearer to believing in it than I.

The basis of materialism is the localization of faculties. How, says the materialist, can there be seeing without eyes, hearing without ears, touch without afferent nerves, thought without ganglia? And if the organs of all these physical processes be dead, what becomes of the soul? This is the argument for materialism; and undoubtedly it is a very strong and plain one. The materialist does not err in saying that it appears self-evident. Like egoism, which commonly goes with it, it has exactly that superficial appearance of self-evidence which delights a superficial mind. But the materialist does err, if he takes it, as he commonly does, for a recent result of science. Its recommendation is all in that perfect obviousness which from the earliest recorded time has made it completely intelligible to every man, woman, and child, nay, even to a dog. Yet it has always failed to convince the great majority. Clearly, therefore, it is somehow inconclusive. And the more we reflect upon it, the more we shall see why. If there be a particle of truth in what is stated by the best psychologists concerning the phenomena of sleep, hypnotism, and somnambulism, there is seeing without eyes, hearing without ears, and other psychical phenomena without the organs commonly employed to direct and utilize the faculties implied in them. But these phenomena are to some extent in every one's experience; and this is exactly why the masses, more judicious than the pretentious few, have always suspected the materialistic dogmatism to be wrong. Of course, I do not say that these phenomena prove the truth of Spiritualism. But they do remove a grave objection to it. If the soul is not identifiable with the body or any part of the body, there is at least no absurdity in believing that it may survive the death of the body. See the article of Camille Melinard in *Popular Science Monthly* for November last; and the "Subliminal Self" by Dr. Mason, reviewed in the New York *Sun* January 25, 1898.

On the subject of hypnotism, see the article under that head in Chamber's Encyclopedia; and the latter part of the article "Magnetism—Animal," in the Britannica. Works of this character, I would suggest to S. D., are not in the habit of giving respectful treatment to "modern shams and humbugs." The only supernaturalism they allow any more consideration than has been conquered by main force of evidence, are those enjoying venerable antiquity. C. L. JAMES.

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HEAR THE OTHER SIDE.

As you have opened your columns to quite a lengthy denunciation of phrenology, permit me to offer a few words on the other side.

Mr. Lies seems to be very sure that phrenology and phrenologists are humbugs, but to my mind he does not demonstrate his position to be correct. His assertion that "Gall's phrenology is based upon a lot of undemonstrated suppositions and assertions, and is * * * unsound," does not have much weight with one who knows what those "suppositions and assertions" are, and who has investigated the subject sufficiently to have seen many of them demonstrated.

He says: "In their (phrenologists') opinion the exterior shape of the skull bones depends upon the organs of the brain, and from projections, bumps and cavities of the skull bones these 'professors' conclude upon a certain shape of the brain, and from this assumed shape of the brain they assume the existence of certain mental attributes."

I quote from a text book on phrenology (Heads and Faces): "The first difficulty the phrenologist meets among the public is that he is supposed to study the brain by means of certain '*bumps*' on the cranium; that he looks for hills and hollows, and that his opinions are based on the presence or deficiency of these bumps."

"For half a century lecturers and writers on phrenology have been trying to convince the world that in the examination of the head we do not look for bumps. * * * The relative proportions of a head are estimated by measuring the distances from the spinal axis, located at the top of the spinal cord, to the points on the surface of the head where the organs are located; on the same principle that a wheel is large in proportion to the length of the spokes from the hub to the rim."

Evidently Mr. Lies' source of information on the subject is different from mine.

I believe in phrenology because the principles laid down in the text books on that subject have been demonstrated to me so clearly that I cannot deny them, except that I refuse to trust my own understanding and accept the opinions of someone else, which I am not in the habit of doing. I do not, however, undertake to believe everything that may be said or done in the name of phrenology, any more than, as an Anarchist, I would be willing to stand sponsor for all that is said and done in the name of Anarchism.

From the fact that Mr. Lies comes recommended as a scholar and noted lecturer, I presume that the bare statements made by him would have more influence on some minds than any argument or evidence I could present; for I am only an unknown farmer, and have been more intimately acquainted with poverty and hard work than with books and science and instead of being a scholar am only a student and observer. For that and other reasons I do not attempt to take up all the statements and answer them as I would like to do, but in conclusion I will say that I accept the dictum of Emil Lies myself in preference to that of any other scientist investigator and counsel all to do their thinking for themselves against newspapers

any proposition without at least hearing the arguments in its favor; and you will then have respect for the conclusions you reach. FRANK E. LEONARD.

Riley, Okla.

PARABLES.

Translated from the Iapygian, by C. L. James.

A puppy had fallen on the floor in a fit while pursuing his own tail. An old dog came up and sniffed at him; and, as usually happens in such cases, he revived. Then said the old dog "Oh my son, what made you tumble down?" "Father," replied the puppy, "I became giddy pursuing my tail, in which organ a philosopher assured me is the seat of happiness." "Son," said the old dog, "I also believe my tail to be the part which contains that universal object of pursuit. But experience has taught me that to pursue my tail is the way to lose it: since making which discovery I have been content to let my tail alone, inasmuch as I infer that before beginning to pursue I had already got it."

* * *

Two boys went together to a river, one hot day, to swim. But just as they were about plunging into the water, the younnger started, and drew back. "What is the matter?" said the older boy. "I caught a glimpse of the Black Man who follows me," said the other; and I am afraid to go into the water, lest he should catch me from behind and drown me." "Turn round and face him," said the elder. But the younger boy said, "I am afraid." "Nay, I will face him also," said the other, turning round. "See! As soon as you look at the Black Man he turns his back towards you. That shows he is just as much afraid of you as you of him." "I have found out that he is a coward," admitted the younger boy; "but he has me at a disadvantage, because he is always sneaking behind." "Then look at the river again," said the older boy. "Now, see that Shining One who is constantly between you and the sun. Are you afraid of the Black Man when you see the other?" "No." "Then come on in; and if you get to thinking of the Black Man, turn towards the sun. The Bright Spirit has always his eye on you, and on your Black Man also."

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